

Message Text

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43

ACTION EA-06

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 H-03 SS-07 NSC-06 AID-01 /024 W

----- 084303

R 020858Z DEC 76

FM AMCONSUL HONG KONG

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2924

UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 4 HONG KONG 14021

FOR EA/PRCM FROM ANDERSON

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: SOPN, US, CH

SUBJECT: CODEL CURTIS PRESS CONFERENCE

REF: STATE 289148

FOLLOWING IS A TRANSCRIPT OF CODEL CURTIS' NOVEMBER 22 PRESS
CONFERENCE IN HONG KONG AS REQUESTED REFTEL.

SENATOR CURTIS

I WOULD LIKE TO THANK THE GENTLEMEN OF THE PRESS FOR BEING HERE.

WE ARE TRAVELLING ON A PRESIDENTIAL MISSION; WE WERE APPOINTED BY
PRESIDENT FORD. I WOULD LIKE TO INTRODUCE MY COLLEAGUES - ON MY
RIGHT IS THE VICE CHAIRMAN OF THE DELEGATION, SENATOR BAYH OF
INDIANA, NEXT TO HIM IS SENATOR HOLLINGS OF SOUTH CAROLINA, SENATOR
JOHNSTON OF LOUISIANA, SENATOR MILTON YOUNG OF NORTH DAKOTA AND
SENATOR STEPHENS OF ALASKA. I HAVE A BRIEF STATEMENT: EVERYONE
WILL SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES IN THIS PRESS CONFERENCE BUT WE HAVE MADE
NO RECORDERS OF THE COMMITTEE. WE HAVE MET WITH VICE PREMIER LEE
AND WITH THE VICE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, MISS WONG. WE SPENT
TWO WEEKS IN CHINA; WE WERE AT SHANGHAI, NANKING, PEKING,(IN-
AUDIBLE) PLUS VISITING OF COMMUNES AND THE COUNTRYSIDE. THE
PEOPLE ARE WARM AND FRIENDLY; THE CHINESE PEOPLE WHOM WE SAW
APPEARED HAPPY, HEALTHY AND WELL FED. THEIR SYSTEM OF AGRICULTURE
SERVES A DUAL PURPOSE - THEY ARE NEAR SELF SUFFICIENT IN FOOD AND
IT PROVIDES EMPLOYMENT FOR THEIR PEOPLE. WE VISITED SEVERAL
FACTORIES AND FOUND A CONSIDERABLE DEGREE OF SOPHISTICATION IN
THEIR OPERATION. IT APPEARS CLEAR THAT THE CHANGE IN CHINA'S
LEADERSHIP CAUSED BY THE DEATH OF MAO TSE TUNG AND THE ADVANCE OF

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CHAIRMAN HUA HAS NOT CHANGED THE DIRECTION OF CHINA TOWARD THE

UNITED STATES. COOPERATION WITH THE UNITED STATES UNDER CHAIRMAN HUA WILL CONTINUE. THE CHINESE LEADERS REPEATEDLY VOICED THEIR DISTRUST OF THE SOVIETS; IN THEIR BELIEF IT IS THE SOVIET'S DESIRE TO EXPAND THEIR TERRITORY. THE CHINESE EXPRESSED A DESIRE FOR PEACE AND STATED THAT THEY DID NOT WISH TO EXTEND THEIR OWN TERRITORY AND IF THE SOVIETS SHOULD ATTACK THEM, THAT THE SOVIETS WOULD SUFFER DEFEAT. THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA'S POSITION ON TAIWAN HAS NOT CHANGED AND WAS FREQUENTLY MENTIONED BUT THEY STATED THAT THE WORLD AFFAIRS, THAT IS THE THREAT OF SOVIET EXPANSION IN ASIA, EUROPE AND ELSEWHERE WAS THE ISSUE OF FIRST IMPORTANCE. THERE WERE DISCUSSIONS ON TRADE AND A CONTINUATION OF EXCHANGE OF BUSINESS. THE GREATEST POSSIBILITY FOR U.S. EXPORTS TO CHINA PERHAPS ARE PLANTS AND MACHINES BUT WE CONVEYED TO THEM THE DESIRE TO SELL THEM GRAIN, THAT WHICH THEY'D NEED TO IMPORT. WE ALSO EXPRESSED AN INTEREST IN THEIR OIL DEVELOPMENT AND SUGGESTED AN EXCHANGE OF GRAIN FOR OIL OR OTHER AMERICAN PRODUCTS.

QUESTION: SIR, COULD YOU TELL US SPECIFICALLY WHAT METHODS YOU ARE TAKING BACK TO THE WHITE HOUSE REGARDING SINO-AMERICAN RELATIONS AND SPECIFICALLY THE RECOGNITION ISSUE?

SENATOR CURTIS ANSWER: I DIDN'T HEAR THE LAST PART.

QUESTION: COULD YOU TELL US WHAT METHODS YOU ARE TAKING BACK TO THE WHITE HOUSE REGARDING THE RECOGNITION ISSUE?

SENATOR CURTIS ANSWER: WE WILL GIVE THEM A REPORT SOMEWHAT AS I STATED HERE, WE WILL ACT INDIVIDUALLY ON THAT. WE INFORMED, I INFORMED THE CHINESE OF MY POSITION THAT THE QUESTION OF TAIWAN WAS A PROBLEM FOR US AND WE HOPED THAT IT COULD BE WORKED OUT PEACEABLY.

QUESTION: SENATOR MANSFIELD THIS MORNING, ACCORDING TO REPORTS, HE APPEARS TO FEEL THAT IT IS A MATTER THAT WANTS TO BE SORTED OUT FAIRLY URGENTLY. DO ANY OF YOU FEEL THE SAME WAY?

SENATOR CURTIS ANSWER: I DO NOT AGREE WITH THE MANSFIELD STATEMENT. HIS LONG TIME OBJECTIVE IS ANOTHER MATTER. THE ABROGATION OF A TREATY IS A SERIOUS ACTION AND I AM NOT PREPARED TO DO MY PART IN COMMITTING OUR GOVERNMENT TO SUCH A COURSE AT THIS TIME.

QUESTION: DO ANY OF THE OTHER SENATORS HERE FEEL THAT THEY ARE?

SENATOR BAYH ANSWER: LET ME JUST, IF I MIGHT JUST SAY, I THINK SENATOR KERR'S OPENING STATEMENT PRETTY WELL HIT ALL THE HIGH POINTS. I THINK I CAN SAY FOR ALL OF US THAT WHEN YOU GO THROUGH AN EXPERIENCE LIKE THIS, AND WHEN YOU COME OUT YOU REALISE THE BASIC DIFFERENCES THAT DISTINGUISH A CLOSED SOCIETY FROM A FREE SOCIETY.

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SOCIETY AND YOU THANK GOD ONCE AGAIN FOR LIVING IN A FREE SOCIETY. THOSE OF US WHO COME TO TAKE FOR GRANTED SOME OF THE BASIC FREEDOMS THAT WE HAVE NEVERTHELESS I THINK HAVE TO UNDERSTAND THAT PEOPLE WHO LIVE IN THE COUNTRY HAVE NEVER UNDERSTOOD OR KNOWN THOSE FREEDOMS, DON'T PLACE THE KIND OF VALUE ON THEM THAT WE DO. I THINK THE NEW ADMINISTRATION SHOULD REMAIN COMMITTED TO THE FULFILLMENT OF THE SHARING HIGH ACCORD. I FRANKLY BELIEVE - AND I HAVE THE GREATEST RESPECT FOR SENATOR MANSFIELD, AND THIS STATEMENT

OF HIS IS NOT A NEW STATEMENT, HE HAS THOUGHT THIS WAY A LONG WHILE
- I FRANKLY BELIEVE THAT WITH NEW LEADERSHIP IN CHINA AND NEW
LEADERSHIP IN THE UNITED STATES, THAT PRECIPITOUS ACTION RIGHT NOW
IS UNREALISTIC AND WE ARE GOING TO GO THROUGH A PERIOD WHERE BOTH
SETS OF NEW LEADERS GET MORE FAMILIAR WITH ONE ANOTHER AND I HOPE
THAT BOTH UNDERSTAND THE IMPORTANCE OF LONG TIME NORMALISATION IN
RELATIONSHIPS. I SENSED, AS I THINK SENATOR CURTIS MENTIONED THAT
ALL OF US, THAT EVERYBODY SHOULD SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES, THAT I THINK
THERE IS A VERY STRONG FEELING AMONG THE OFFICIALS THAT WE SPOKE
WITH FOR A NORMALISATION OF RELATIONSHIPS. WE TOLD THEM THAT WE
WANT NORMAL RELATIONSHIPS BUT THE PROBLEMS ARE AS GREAT NOW AS THEY
WERE BEFORE THE CHANGE OF LEADERS, AND I THINK IT IS GOING TO BE A
STEP BY STEP RETURN TO
NORMALISATION INSTEAD OF AWAKENING AND
HAVING A PROCLAMATION ON THE PRESIDENT'S DESK, AS SAID TO ME.
SENATOR HOLLINGS ANSWER: I THINK THE SAME THING - I THINK THE STEP
BY STEP PROCEDURE AND ONE OF CAUTION AND BEING DELIBERATE AND
CAREFUL AND CONSIDERATE IN OUR CONDUCT IS THE HIGHLIGHT OF HOW IT
IS TO BE DONE RATHER THAN URGENCY. THE FACT OF THE MATTEJ IS THAT
IN THE DISCUSSIONS WE HAD WITH MR. LEE, I POINTED OUT TO HIM MYSELF
THAT WE WEREN'T GOING TO ABANDON OUR FRIENDS IN TAIWAN; WE RECOGNISE
THAT THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE HAS STATED ONE CHINA BUT THE MATTER OF
NORMALISATION COULD ONLY COME ABOUT AS TENSIONS EASE AND I THOUGHT
IT WAS THE RESPONSIBILITY OF BOTH SIDES TO CREATE AN EASING OF TGOSE
TENSIONS - I DON'T THINK IT'S A SINGULAR AMERICAN PROBLEM, I THINK
IT'S A CHINESE PROBLEM AS WELL - AND THEY ARE GOING TO HAVE TO
MAKE A LITTLE PROGRESS OF THEIR OWN AMONGST PEOPLE AND GIVE A FEELING
OF SECURITY AND PROTECTION OF COURSE TO OUR FRIENDS THERE BECAUSE
WE ARE JUST NOT GOING TO UP AND ABANDON TAIWAN, AND I THINK THAT'S
CLEAR IN MY MIND AND I DON'T THINK THE NATIONAL CONGRESS OF PRESIDENT
CARTER HAS ANY IDEA OF ANY URGENCY TO MOVE IN WITH A TOTAL CUT OFF
OF OUR SECURITY TREATY. I HAVEN'T SEEN THE MANSFIELD STATEMENT BUT
I WILL SAY THAT WE HAVE GOT TO GIVE CONSTANT CARE TO WHAT'S BEEN
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ACCOMPLISHED OVER THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE - WE CAN'T UST LET IT
LANGUISH - WE HAVE GOT TO GICE THE PROPER RECOGNITION AND ATTENTION
TO MAINLAND CHINA BUT THE URGENCY THAT SENATOR MANSFIELD TALKS OF,
I WOULD DISAGREE WITH.

QUESTION: SENATOR, WHAT DID VICE PREMIER LEE SAY TO YOU WHEN HE
TOLD YOU THIS?

SENATOR HOLLINGS ANSWER: WELL, HE TOLD ME THAT I WAS RIGHT WHEN I
SAID THERE WAS ONE CHINA BUT HE SAID ON THE MATTER OF, I WAS TRYING
TO EMPHASISE THE STEP BY STEP, NAMELY THAT THEY SHOULD SEND SIMILAR
DELEGATIONS AS OURS TO THE UNITED STATES, THAT WE SORT OF STEP UP
TRADE, HE SAID WELL WE COULDN'T SEND DELEGATIONS AS LONG AS THE
EMBASSY OF TAIWAN WAS THERE IN WASHINGTON, D.C., HE SAID IT WOULD BE
AN EMBARRASSMENT TO CHINA AND TO US.

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ACTION EA-06

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FM AMCONSUL HONG KONG

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2925

UNCLAS SECTION 2 OF 4 HONG KONG 14021

FOR EA/PRCM FROM ANDERSON

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: SOPN, US, CH

SUBJECT: CODEL CURTIS PRESS CONFERENCE

REF: STATE 289148

SENATOR JOHNSTON ANSWER: THEY SAID TWO THINGS I THINK THAT WERE IMPORTANT ON THE TAIWAN ISSUE. FIRST IN OUR MEETING WITH THE VICE FOREIGN MINISTER, SHE SAID, IN DISCUSSING THE TAIWAN ISSUE, THAT CHINA WOULD NOT AGREE TO A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF THE TAIWAN ISSUE AND SECONDLY, THE VICE PREMIER LEE STATED, AFTER A DISCUSSION FOR SOME PERIOD OF TIME ON THE TAIWAN ISSUE, THAT TAIWAN WAS SECONDARY AND RELATIONSHIPS WITH RESPECT TO RUSSIA WERE PRIMARY, SO THAT WHILE THEY ARE COMMITTED TO REUNIFICATION AND ABSORPTION OF TAIWAN AND WHILE THEY ARE NOT WILLING TO SAY THAT THEY WILL DO IT BY PEACEFUL MEANS, NEVERTHELESS WHEN IT COMES RIGHT DOWN TO IT, THAT'S A SECONDARY ISSUE WITH THEM AT THE PRESENT TIME AND RELATIONSHIPS AND THEIR GLOBAL SECURITY ARE PRIMARY.

SENATOR BAYH ANSWER: I DID NOT GET THE FEELING - EXCUSE ME, PARDON ME FOR INTERRUPTING - I DID NOT GET THE FEELING THAT ANY OF THE LEADERS THAT WE DISCUSSED THIS PROBLEM WITH EXPECTED THIS MATTER TO BE RESOLVED IN A MATTER OF WEEKS OR MONTHS, THAT THIS, AS THEY UNDERSTOOD, WAS GOING TO TAKE SOME TIME. WE HAVE GOT TWO SETS OF NEW LEADERS AND I THINK AS LONG AS WE REMAIN COMMITTED TO THE ULTIMATE NORMALISATION OF RELATIONSHIPS AS HANDLED IN THAT SHANGHAI AGREEMENT, I THINK WE ARE GOING TO BE ABLE TO MOVE FORWARD PROGRESSIVELY.

SENATOR YOUNG ANSWER: WE HAVE ALWAYS TAKEN PRIDE AS A NATION IN KEEPING OUR TREATIES AND OBLIGATIONS WITH OTHER COUNTRIES. THIS

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CANNOT ALLOW US TO ABROGATE A TREATY AGREEMENT WITH TAIWAN. I THINK PATIENCE AND TIME WILL RESOLVE THIS PROBLEM BUT ALONG WITH THE KOREAN PROBLEM, WE HAVE SOME OBLIGATIONS THERE TOO - OF WE WERE TO ABROGATE THEM, THERE MIGHT BE ANOTHER WAR THERE TOO - IT WOULD UPSET THE WHOLE BALANCE OF POWER IN THE MIDDLE EAST. SHOULD WE DO ALL THIS, WE'D PROBABLY SAY GO A STEP FURTHER AND LET JAPAN RE-ARM AND I CAN'T THINK.... WE HAVE A NEW ADMINISTRATION, A LOT OF DIFFERENCE OF OPINION IN CONGRESS, BUT ONE THING WE DO AGREE UPON IS THAT OF KEEPING OUR COMMITMENTS TO OTHER COUNTRIES.

SENATOR STEVENS ANSWER: I THINK SENATOR JOHNSTON USED THE WORD "SECONDARY", AND I REALLY THINK THEY REALLY SET SOME MINOR ISSUE BENNETT AS FAR AS TAIWAN IS CONCERNED AND THAT THE MAJOR ISSUE AS FAR AS THE P.R.C. IS CONCERNED IS IN FACT THE RUSSIAN INFLUENCE BUT THEY WERE VERY STRONG ON THIS CONCEPT OF PULLING OUR TROOPS OUT OF KOREA AND ALLOWING THE KOREAN PROBLEM TO BE SETTLED INTERNALLY - AS THEY SAY, THE TAIWAN PROBLEM IS AN INTERNAL CHINA PROBLEM AND AS I RECALL MISS WONG WAS VERY SPECIFIC IN SAYING SHE DID NOT BELIEVE THAT ANY INTERFERENCE FROM ANY SOURCE OUTSIDE OF CHINA WOULD BE TOLERATED. IT SEEMS TO ME THAT WE OUGHT TO TRY AND CONVEY THE IMPRESSION THAT WE GOT FROM THEM AND THAT WE GAVE TO THEM. MY FEELING IS THAT WE GAVE TO THEM THE IMPRESSION THAT WE WERE DEFINITELY, AS A COUNTRY, DESIROUS OF CONTINUING THE PROCESS TOWARDS NORMALISATION BUT THAT THE TIME FRAME WOULD NOT BE A CHINESE TIME FRAME AS FAR AS THE UNITED STATES WAS CONCERNED. THEY GAVE US THE IMPRESSION THAT WHILE THEY WANTED NORMALISATION, THEY WANTED THE UNITED STATES TO REMAIN STRONG MILITARILY TO BE A BALANCE AGAINST RUSSIA MORE THAN THEY WANTED US TO SOLVE THE TAIWAN PROBLEM IMMEDIATELY. THAT'S MY IMPRESSION.

SENATOR HOLLINGS ANSWER: YOU ARE RIGHT TO REPORT ON THIS. THERE ARE MANY ANOMALIES - AND IF YOU TALK ABOUT TROOPS, TO HAVE THOSE OF KOREA WHICH THEY ASKED FOR - AT THE VERY SAME TIME THEY ASKED US POSITIVELY FOR OUR TROOPS TO SAY IN EUROPE. IN FACT I WILL NEVER FORGET PREMIER LEE'S STATEMENT TO THE EFFECT THAT, A QUESTION WAS ASKED BY THE CHAIRMAN OF OUR TROOPS IN EUROPE, HE SAID WE NOT ONLY WANT YOU TO STAY IN EUROPE, WE WANT EUROPE TO STAY IN EUROPE, SO THERE YOU ARE. THESE THINGS HAVE GOT TO BE SORTED OUT AND TAKEN INTO CONSIDERATION WITH OTHER STATEMENTS MADE.

QUESTION: YOU JUST REFERRED TO MR. LEE AS PREMIER LEE, DID YOU GET THE IMPRESSION THAT HE WAS ACTING AS PREMIER?

SENATOR HOLLINGS ANSWER: NO, NO, WE COULDN'T GIVE ANY TIP. WE DON'T KNOW ANY MORE THAN YOU DO ON THAT SCORE, CHAIRMAN HUA OR

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ANYTHING ELSE - WE WERE TOLD THAT THEY RESTED ON EVERY LITTLE WORD WE SAID BUT THE TRUTH OF THE MATTER IS PERHAPS WE RESTED ON EVERY

LITTLE WORD TOO MUCH THEY SAID. THE FACT OF THE MATTER IS THAT THIS CENTRAL COMMITTEE IS GOING TO RUN, THE COUNTRY IS GOING TO RUN, IT'S GOING TO BE RUN IN THE MEMORY OF CHAIRMAN MAO FOR YEARS TO COME, REGARDLESS OF WHO IS THE PREMIER, AND I THINK IF AN AUTOMOBILE RAN OVER ONE LEADER TODAY, THEY'D HAVE ANOTHER ONE FROM THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE THE NEXT DAY, AND IF THAT HAPPENED YOU'D HAVE ANOTHER ONE THE THIRD DAY - I'M TRYING TO TALK IN TERMS OF SENSE IN THE CONTEXT THAT A COMMITTEE, A CENTRAL COMMITTEE, RUNS THAT COUNTRY AND IT'S CONTINUITY AND IT'S ALL IN THE MEMORY OF CHAIRMAN MAO.

SENATOR BAYH ANSWER: I WOULD THINK THAT WE GOT THE DISTINCT IMPRESSION ALTHOUGH THEY WERE TRYING TO MOVE FORWARD AND EMPHASISE HUA, THAT THERE WAS A GREATER RELIANCE THAN WE HAD BEEN TOLD BEFORE ON THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE - THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF CHAIRMAN HUA - AND THAT WHAT WAS JUST SAID ABOUT THE FACT THAT WHOEVER THE TOP PERSON IS, IT IS NOT AS IMPORTANT AS THE FACT THAT THEY ARE GOING TO CONTINUE THE GENERAL POLICY, WHICH I FRANKLY FEEL IS GOING TO BE A MORE MODERATE POLICY NOW THAN WOULD HAVE BEEN SO IF IT HAD GONE THE OTHER WAY IN THAT DISAGREEMENT THEY HAD WITH THE SHANGHAI....

SENATOR CURTIS ANSWER: I LEFT CHINA WITH THE DISTINCT IMPRESSION THAT THE CHINESE PRIMARY CONCERN WAS A FEAR OF THE SOVIET AND THAT THEY WILL CONTINUE COOPERATION WITH THE UNITED STATES IN ALL THINGS THAT PROTECT THEM FROM ANY ADVERSE ACTION ON THE PART OF THE SOVIET AND THEY STATED MORE THAN ONCE THAT THAT WAS THE PRIMARY ISSUE. I DO NOT BELIEVE IT WOULD BE APPROPRIATE FOR US TO ABANDON TAIWAN, TO ABROGATE A TREATY. I BELIEVE THOSE THINGS CAN BE WORKED OUT, I DO NOT THINK THAT OUR FUTURE COOPERATION DEPENDS UPON IMMEDIATE ABRUPT ACTION.

QUESTION: DID THEY SAY WHAT THEY THOUGHT MIGHT HAPPEN IF THE U.S. PULLED OUT OF KOREA MILITARILY?

SENATOR CURTIS ANSWER: NOT THAT I RECALL.

SENATOR STEVENS ANSWER: THEY SAID THEY THOUGHT THAT THE INTERNAL QUESTION WOULD BE SOLVED BY KOREA, AND THAT WAS IN ANSWER TO YOUR QUESTION BENNETT.

SENATOR JOHNSTON ANSWER: REALLY THE QUESTION OF TAIWAN AND THE QUESTION OF KOREA WAS NOT BROUGHT UP BY ANY OF OUR CHINESE HOSTS BUT BY US. THE QUESTION OF KOREA, AND A QUESTION BY ME TO THE EFFECT THAT WOULD IT INTERFERE WITH PROGRESS IN THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE AND PROGRESS TOWARD NORMALISATION BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES IF WE UNCLASSIFIED

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REMAINED IN KOREA, AND THE VICE FOREIGN MINISTER PROCEEDED TO GIVE THE STANDARD LINE ON KOREA. NOW, YOU CAN READ THAT EITHER WAY - YOU COULD EITHER READ THAT AS BEING THAT IF WOULD NOT INTERFERE WITH THE NORMALISATION OF RELATIONS, WHICH IS FRANKLY THE WAY I READ IT, OR YOU COULD READ IT AS A CALL TO REMOVE OUR TROOPS. I THINK THAT IF WAS THE FORMER. AND ON THE QUESTION OF TAIWAN, THEY DID NOT BRING UP THE QUESTION OF TAIWAN - WE DID - AND AFTER SOME DISCUSSION, AS SENATOR STEPHENS SAID, THEY SAID IT WAS SECONDARY AND MINOR BUT WORDS TO THE SAME EFFECT. ONE KEY THAT I KEPT LOOKING FOR HINTS AND

EVIDENCE OF, IS THE QUESTION OF WHETHER HUA HAS CONSOLIDATED HIS POWER OR NOT, WHETHER HE IS IN FACT THE LEGITIMATE CHAIRMAN. YOU ALWAYS LOOK FOR LITTLE HINTS AND LITTLE BITS AND PIECES. I THOUGHT WE COULD BEGIN TO SEE THOSE BITS AND PIECES - FOR EXAMPLE, SOME OF THE WALL POSTERS WERE BEGINNING TO SAY CHAIRMAN HUA AND THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE RATHER THAN THE WAY THEY HAD BEEN A FEW WEEKS AGO SAYING CENTRAL COMMITTEE UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF HUA - A SUBTLE DIFFERENCE BUT SOME OF THE WALL POSTERS WERE BEGINNING TO SAY THAT. I SAW SOME PHOTOGRAPHS IN DUNGWANG (? SP.) FINALLY A PHOTOGRAPH OF CHAIRMAN HUA IN ONE OF THE DISPLAY CASES AT COUNTY FAIR YOU MIGHT CALL IT. IN OTHER WORDS IT SEEMS TO ME THAT HE IS BEGINNING TO BE LEGITIMISED AS THE CHAIRMAN AND AS THE REAL LEADER OF CHINA. SENATOR BAYH ANSWER: LET ME JUST POINT OUT ONE INCONSISTENCY THERE THAT WHEN THEY ANSWERED SENATOR JOHNSTON'S QUESTION ON KOREA, THEY DID GIVE A TRADITIONAL RESPONSE WHICH IS SOMETHING TO THE EFFECT THAT THIS IS A KOREAN MATTER AND SHOULD BE SOLVED INTERNALLY BY THE KOREANS IN A PEACEFUL MANNER AND THE INTERNAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN CHINA ON THE MAINLAND AND CHINA IN TAIWAN, OF COURSE THEY HAD NOT GONE SO FAR AS TO SAY THAT THIS IS AN INTERNAL MATTER AND SHOULD BE SOLVED IN A PEACEFUL MANNER. IF THEY DID THAT, WE WOULD HAVE A LOT LESS PROBLEMS IN RESOLVING THAT PROBLEM.

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12/43

ACTION EA-06

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R 020858Z DEC 76

FM AMCONSUL HONG KONG

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2926

UNCLAS SECTION 3 OF 4 HONG KONG 14021

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (PREVIOUSLY OMMITTED PARTS OF TEXT)

FOR EA/PRCM FROM ANDERSON

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: SOPN, US, CH

SUBJECT: CODEL CURTIS PRESS CONFERENCE

REF: STATE 289148

QUESTION: SENATOR CURTIS, WERE YOU GIVEN ANY INFORMATION ON THE EARTHQUAKE WHILE YOU WERE IN CHINA?

SENATOR CURTIS ANSWER: I RECEIVED SOME VIBRATIONS IN MY BED, I OBSERVED THE CANDELIER SWINGING BACK AND FORTH, BUT AFTER IT WAS ALL OVER, AFTER THE NEXT TWO OR THREE DAYS, I ASKED OUR GUIDES AND INTERPRETERS ABOUT THE EARTHQUAKE - HAS IT AFFECTED OTHER CITIES AND THEY SAID HAD,N'T HEARD YET.

SENATOR STEVENS ANSWER: THE ANSWER IS WE NEVER WERE GIVEN ANY COMPLETE INFORMATION ABOUT THAT SECOND SHOCK, AS TO HOW IT AFFECTED THE REST OF CHINA. WE WERE IN IT IN PEKING AND IT WAS A RELATIVELY MILD AFTER SHOCK REALLY.

SENATOR HOLLINGS ANSWER: WE WERE TOLD IT WAS ABOUT 6.9 ON THE RICHTER

SCALE.

SENATOR JOHNSTON ANSWER: MR. FAN, ONE OF OUR HOSTS, SAID THAT THEY HAD HAD SOME NOTICE OF IT AND THAT THEY WERE ABLE TO GET MOST OF THE POEPL E OUT IN TUNGSHAN, I THINK WAS THE NAME OF IT, AND SO THEY DIDN'T THINK THE DAMAGES WERE TOO GREAT. NOW THAT WAS JUST ONE OF THE INTERPRETERS ACCOMPANYING US.

SENATOR STEVENS ANSWER: THE STARTLING THING ABOUT PEKING THOUGH - UNCLASSIFIED

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I DON'T KNOW IF YOU HAVE EVEN HEARD IT - BUT THE LAST NIGHT WE WERE THERE, WE DROVE BY THE RED SQUARE AND IT WAS, YOU KNOW, NORMAL. THE NEXT MORNING, BY EIGHT O'CLOCK IN THE MORNING WE DROVE BY, THE WHOLE THING WAS COMPLETELY SURROUNDED BY A FENCE, EVERY PIECE OF MARBLE HAD BEEN MOVED, ALL OF THE TREES HAD BEEN CATEGORIED AND EITHER MOVED OR SET ASIDE, AND THE MONUMENT FOR MAO WAS UNDER WAY. IT TOOK US ABOUT SIX OR SEVEN HOURS TO LEARN WHAT IT WAS ALL ABOUT - WE ALL SUSPECTED WHAT IT WAS - BUT I HAVE NEVER SEEN ANYTHING MOVE SO FAST IN MY LIFE. THAT RED SQUARE WAS UNDERLINED BY TUNNELS AND DITCHES AND ALL OF THE CONCRETE AND MARBLE WAS MOVED WITHIN A SPACE OF SIXTEEN HOURS. I DON'T KNOW HOW LONG IT WILL BE BEFORE YOU SEE THAT MONUMENT BUT IT'S CERTAINLY UNDER WAY, THERE'S NO TWO WAYS ABOUT IT.

SENATOR JOHNSTON ANSWER: SPEAKING OF TUNNELS, ONE OF THE MORE INTERESTING THINGS I THINK WE SAW WAS THE WEB OF TUNNELS UNDER THE CITY OF PEKING. AIR RAID SHELTERS - THE FIRST LEVEL IS ABOUT 25 FEET UNDER THE SURFACE, THEY ARE NOW WORKING ON THE SECOND LEVEL ABOUT 50 FEET UNDER THE SURFACE, THEY GO FAR ENOUGH IN ONE DIRECTION THAT I THINK IT TAKES YOU ABOUT THREE HOURS TO WALK FROM ONE END TO THE OTHER, JUST TO WALK, BUT THEY ARE LARGE ENOUGH THEY SAY TO ACCOMMODATE FOUR MILLION PEOPLE.

SENATOR STEVENS ANSWER: IT'S THE NEW GREAT WALL - IT'S THE UNDERGROUND GREAT WALL OF CHINA THAT IS BEING BUILT AND IT'S MAO'S INSTRUCTIONS TO DIG TUNNELS DEEP AND THEY'RE CERTAINLY DOING IT.

SENATOR JOHNSTON ANSWER: THEY HAVE AIR PURIFIERS AND WATER SYSTEMS AND TOILETS AND MESS HALLS AND THE WHOLE SYSTEM.

QUESTION: THIS STATEMENT OF WONG TAI RUN'S, IF I HEARD YOU RIGHT, SHE SAID THAT CHINA WOULD NOT AGREE TO A PEACEFUL SOLUTION OF THE TAIWAN PROBLEM.

SENATOR JOHNSTON ANSWER: THAT'S RIGHT.

QUESTION: WHAT IMPRESSION DID YOU GET SHE MEANT BY THAT?

SENATOR JOHNSTON ANSWER: MY IMPRESSION WAS THAT THEY WOULD AGREE TO NO CONDITIONS ALLT ALL, THAT TAIWAN IS A CHINESE PROBLEM THAT WOULD BE SETTLED BY THE CHINESE AND THAT THEY WOULD TAKE NO CONDITIONS WHATSOEVER ON THE REUNIFICATION.

QUESTION: NOW DO YOU TAKE THAT TO MEAN THAT IT WOULD CLOSE THE DOOR ON FOR INSTANCE OUR SUPPLYING MILITARY SPARE PARTS TO THE TAIWANESE AFTER NORMALISATION?

SENATOR JOHNSTON ANSWER: WELL THAT'S THEIR LINE AT THIS TIME BUT AGAIN THEY ARE NOT PUSHING THAT LINE. THEY DIDN'T BRING UP THE QUESTION OF TAIWAN BUT WHEN THE QUESTION OF TAIWAN WAS BROUGHT UP, UNCLASSIFIED

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THEY SAID IT WAS AN INTERNAL CHINESE PROBLEM, YOU MUST RECOGNISE THAT THAT'S OUR PROBLEM AND WE WILL NOT ASSENT TO ANY CONDITIONS ON YOUR RECOGNITION.

SENATOR YOUNG ANSWER: IT ALL SEEMED TO ADD TO ONE THING THOUGH, THAT THERE WOULD BE NO NORMAL RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES UNTIL THAT TAIWAN THING WAS SETTLED.

QUESTION: THEY DIDN'T RULE OUT A PEACEFUL(LAST PART OF QUESTION INAUDIBLE)

SENATOR CURTIS ANSWER: IF I MAY SAY IN SUMMARY FOR MYSELF THEY REPEATED THEIR TRADITIONAL LINE ON ALL THESE QUESTIONS BUT I DO NOT BELIEVE THAT THE UNITED STATES MUST SURRENDER TO THE CHINESE VIEW-POINT ON EVERY ISSUE IN ORDER FOR THE COOPERATION TO CONTINUE. THEY WANT AND NEED THE FRIENDSHIP AND THE COOPERATION OF THE UNITED STATES BECAUSE OF THEIR FEAR OF RUSSIA.

SENATOR STEVENS ANSWER: IT'S PRETTY SURE THOUGH THAT THEY SAID THAT THEY DID NOT BELIEVE IN PEACEFUL TRANSITION, THERE WAS THE TRANSITION QUESTION, AND THAT THE METHODS AND MEANS AND WHEN THEY WOULD BE USED TO LIBERATE TAIWAN WOULD BE AN INTERNAL MATTER AND THAT NO OTHER NATION WOULD HAVE THE RIGHT TO INTERFERE WHATSOEVER.

SENATOR HOLLINGS ANSWER: YOU CAN'T TREAT WHAT THEY SAY LIGHTLY BUT YOU CAN'T TREAT WHAT THEY SAY CATEGORICALLY. FOR THIRTY YEARS WE'VE BEEN CAPTIONED AS DOGS ON THOSE POSTERS BUT EVERYBODY WAVED AND SMILED EVERYWHERE WE WENT.

QUESTION: DID THEY MAKE ANY EFFORT TO ASK THE DEMOCRATS AMONGST YOU WHAT MR. CARTER HAD SAID HIS VIEWS ON CHINA MIGHT BE IF HE WERE ELECTED TO COPE WITH THIS PROBLEM? (THE LAST PART OF THIS QUESTION WAS SOMEWHAT INAUDIBLE.)

SENATOR JOHNSTON ANSWER: YES, I THINK AT LEAST PRIVATELY. WE HAD THESE GUIDES THAT WOULD GO WITH US - MOST WERE WITH THE INSTITUTE OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, SOME WERE WITH THE FOREIGN MINISTRY - AND WE WOULD CHANGE GUIDES FROM TIME TO TIME WHEN WE RODE IN CARS AND THEY, AT LEAST TWO OF THEM ASKED ME THAT QUESTION. I DIDN'T GIVE THEM A DEFINITIVE ANSWER.

QUESTION: DID THEY SEEM TO KNOW ANYTHING ABOUT PRESIDENT-ELECT
CARTER'S VIEWS?

SENATOR JOHNSTON ANSWER: NOT A GREAT DEAL, NOT MUCH MORE THAN WE DO.

SENATOR BAYH ANSWER: THEY SERVED US A LOT OF PEANUTS ALONG THE WAY.

SENATOR STEVENS ANSWER: THEY CALL THEM GROUNDNUTS THOUGH.

SENATOR JOHNSTON ANSWER: ONE THING THAT STRUCK ME, AS A MATTER OF
SORT OF LOCAL COLOUR, WAS THE INCREDIBLE PROPAGANDISATION OF THE
EOPLE. IN SHANGHAI FOR EXAMPLE, NOT ONLY DID YOU HAVE THIS

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REPLICATION OF WALL POSTERS, THE RADIO PLAYED NOTHING BUT REVOL-
UTIONARY SONGS, I MEAN NOTHING BUT REVOLUTIONARY SONGS, THEY HAD
LOUDSPEAKEERRS OUT IN THE FIELD WHERE THE WORKERS WERE WORKING THAT
EXHORTED YOU KNOW ALL THE COMMUNIST SLOGANS, ALL THE REVOLUTIONS;
OF COURSE THE NEWSPAPERS, INSOFAR AS WE COULD SEE THEM, WERE
NOTHING BUT REVOLUTION. THEY HAD SORT OF REVELLIE LOUDSPEAKERS THAT
WENT OFF ABOUT SIX O'CLOCK THAT STARTED OFF WITH A REVOLUTIONARY
SONG, SORT OF A REVOLUTIONARY REVELLIE - THE MOST INCREDIBLE JUST
CONSTANCY. IN SHANGHAI WHERE WE SAW THE LITTLE PLAY BY THE LITTLE
KIDS, WHO WERE VERY CUTE YOU KNOW, BUT ONE OF THE THINGS THEY DID IS
THEY HAD THIS LITTLE BLACKBOARD SET UP OUTSIDE WITH A PICTURE OF
THE GANG OF FOUR DRAWN IN CHALK AND THE LITTLE KIDS WERE GIVEN
BEANBAGS AND TOLD TO GO THROW IT AT THE BLACKBOARD.

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ACTION EA-06

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 H-03 SS-07 NSC-06 AID-01 /024 W

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SENATOR STEVENS ANSWER: I DON'T THINK THE VERDICT IS IN IN SHANGHAI YET - I SAID THIS TO FRITZ (?) LAST NIGHT. AT EIGHT O'CLOCK AT NIGHT WHEN IT WAS DARK, WITH THESE WALL NEWSPAPERS - THEY WERE IN SERIES ALL ALONG THE WALL - THERE WERE PEOPLE LINED UP FOUR AND FIVE DEEP WAITING TO GET A CHANCE TO READ WHAT WAS ON THAT WALL, MILLIONS AND MILLIONS OF PEOPLE OUT LOOKING AT THESE POSTERS AND READING WHAT'S IN THESE WALL NEWSPAPERS, AND WE GOT THE FEELING, AT LEAST I GOT THE THE FEELING, THAT THE PROPAGANDA OFFENSIVE IN SHANGHAI IS INCREASING IN INTENSITY , THAT THAT IS PROBABLY THE WHOLE CENTRE OF THE PRO-PAGANDA OFFENSIVE AS FAR AS THE GANG OF FOUR IS CONCERNED.

SENATOR BAYH ANSWER: AND IT'S GOING BEYOND THE ORIGINAL FOUR BUT IT'S ALSO TAKING ON TWO OR THREE OTHER SIGNIFICANT SHANGHAI REGIONAL LEADERS.

QUESTION: DO YOU KNOW THEIR NAMES?

SENATOR BAYH ANSWER: NO, I'M SORRY, I HAD IT PUT IN MY NOTES BUT I DON'T REMEMBER THEIR NAMES.

QUESTION: DID LEE TSIEN YEN OFFER ANY KIND OF AN IMPRESSION OF JIMMY CARTER?

SENATOR BAYH ANSWER: NO.

QUESTION: DID THEY GIVE YOU THE IMPRESSION THAT THEY THOUGHT THAT THE FACT THAT PRESIDENT FORD WAS NOT ELECTED WOULD DELAY MATTERS SOMEWHAT IN THE PROCEDURES TOWARD NORMALISATION?

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SENATOR HOLLINGS ANSWER: NOT NECESSARILY.

SENATOR CURTIS ANSWER: THEY DID NOT DISCUSS THAT IN ANY DETAIL AT ALL (THE LAST PART OF THIS ANSWER IS INAUDIBLE.)

SENATOR STEVENS ANSWER: THE ONLY QUESTION I HAD ALONG THAT LINE WAS WHETHER I BELIEVED THE NATIONAL DEFENCE POLICY WOULD CHANGE AS FAR AS IT CONCERNED RUSSIA AND THIS PART OF THE WORLD AND MY COMMENT WAS I DIDN'T BELIEVE IT WOULD, I DIDN'T BELIEVE THAT WE WOULD SEE ANY DRASTIC CHANGE IN AMERICAN POLICY OVER HERE.

SENATOR CURTIS ANSWER: THEY WERE INTERESTED IN THE UNITED STATES CONTINUING TO BE STRONG MILITARILY. I BELIEVE THAT FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION CAN CONTINUE AND THE UNITED STATES STILL HAVE SOMETHING TO SAY ABOUT THE TERMS THAT WE GET TOGETHER ON. I DO NOT THINK THAT THE URGENCY OF ANY OF THEIR PROBLEMS ARE SUCH THAT WE HAVE TO YIELD TOTALLY TO THEIR VIEWPOINT ON ANY ISSUE.

SENATOR BAYH ANSWER: IT MIGHT BE INTERESTING TO KNOW - IT WAS TO ME - AND OF COURSE AS A COUPLE OF YOU SAID, WE TENDED TO TRY TO LOOK FOR EACH WORD AND EACH INFLECTION, AND I'M SURE THEY DID TOO, BUT COMPARED TO WHAT WE'D BEEN TOLD BY SENATOR SCOTT AND SOME OF THE OTHER OFFICIALS IN THE GOVERNMENT WHO HAVE BEEN THERE, ALTHOUGH WE GOT THE PARTY LINE AND WE GOT TO DIG TUNNELS DEEP AND STORE RICE

EVERYWHERE AND BE SELF-RELIANT AND THE WHOLE BIT, BUT WE DIDN'T GET THAT AT EVERY STOP WITH THE KIND OF INTENSITY WE'D BEEN LED TO BELIEVE WE MIGHT GET IT AND THE OFFICIALS WHO TALKED TO US PRESENTED THEIR POSITION IN A MUCH MORE MODERATE TONE OF VOICE AND A MUCH LESS ARGUMENTATIVE TENOR THAN AT LEAST I'D BEEN LED TO BELIEVE WE COULD EXPECT. NOW HERE AGAIN I DON'T THINK WE SHOULD MAKE TOO MUCH OUT OF THAT BUT I THINK THAT'S PROBABLY A FAIR ASSESSMENT.

SENATOR STEVENS ANSWER: CARL I KNOW YOU WANT TO END THIS BUT I WANT TO SAY, I SERVED IN CHINA DURING WORLD WAR II WITH THE FOUR-TEENTH AIR FORCE AND I'VE SEEN GREAT CHANGE IN CHINA. THE RICKSHAWS ARE GONE, THE PROSTITUTES ARE GONE, THE STREET PEDDLERS ARE GONE, THERE IS AN APPARENT CHANGE IN AGRICULTURE, THERE IS AN INCREASE IN INDUSTRIALISATION AND I THINK EVERYWHERE WE WENT WE SAW THE EFFECTS OF INCREASED MODERNISATION OF FARM MACHINERY AND THE GROWTH OF A LABOUR FORCE IN SMALL INDUSTRY AND VILLAGES THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY - THE CHANGES THAT ARE COMING ABOUT IN CHINA, IN MY OPINION, MAKE CHINA A MUCH STRONGER NATION THAN I THOUGHT I'D SEE AND I DON'T THINK YOU CAN WALK THROUGH ONE OF THOSE SMALL VILLAGE INDUSTRIES LIKE THE GENERATOR PLANT WE SAW IN DANGWANG (?) WITHOUT REALISING HOW INNOVATIVE THESE PEOPLE ARE TO MAKE WITH VERY FEW RAW MATERIALS SOME VERY EXCELLENT GENERATORS AND TRANSFORMERS AND MOTORS

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FROM SCRATCH. NOW THE CONSTANT CHANGE IN AGRICULTURE IS PROVIDING THEM MORE PEOPLE FOR LIGHT INDUSTRY AND THE LIGHT INDUSTRY IS MAKING MORE AND MORE MACHINE TOOLS AND MORE AND MORE MACHINE TOOLS ARE GIVING WAY TO LARGER AND LARGER SMALL PLANTS TO MAKE THINGS LIKE THE GENERATORS WE SAW, BUT I THINK THAT THIS IS A PERIOD OF INCREASING CHANGE IN CHINA. IN MY OPINION, WE CANNOT GO BACK AND TELL THE PEOPLE IN THE UNITED STATES THAT CHINA IS NOT COMPLETELY ON THE ROCKS - IT IS ON THE ROCKS.

SENATOR JOHNSTON ANSWER: MY ADVICE TO RUSSIA WOULD BE, TO COIN A PHRASE, DON'T GET INVOLVED IN A WAR ON THE MAINLAND OF CHINA BECAUSE THOSE PEOPLE ARE VERY TOUGH AND THERE ARE LOTS OF THEM AND THEY'RE DUG IN AND THEY'RE INCREDIBLY LIBERATED IN THEIR INDUSTRY, AS SENATOR STEPHENS SAID, WE SAW A FACTORY IN DANGWANG, WHICH IS A SMALL COUNTRY SEAT, THAT DOES EVERYTHING FROM CASTING THE STEEL FRAMES FOR THE GENERATORS TO MAKING THE BALL BEARINGS FOR THEM.

SENATOR STEVENS ANSWER: AND THEY'RE PEOPLE OF ONE MIND. I TELL YOU I DIDN'T SEE ANY DEVIATION FROM THE PARTY LINE OR FROM ONE MIND. IT'S BASICALLY WHAT...A UNISEXUAL SOCIETY THAT HAS ONE PURPOSE AND THAT IS TO STAY BEHIND THAT CENTRAL COMMITTEE. THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE IS COMPLETELY IN CHARGE AS FAR AS I AM CONCERNED - IT IS THE LEADERSHIP OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE HEADED BY CHAIRMAN HUA IN MY OPINION AND THAT IS A DISTINCTION. I DON'T THINK IT'S A MEANINGLESS DISTINCTION LIKE MY FRIEND DOES - I THINK IT IS A DISTINCTION BUT THAT HE'S CORRECT THAT ANY LEADER THAT HAS THAT CENTRAL COMMITTEE AND THE ARMY BEHIND HIM IS GOING TO LEAD CHINA WITHOUT ANY PROBLEM.

SENATOR YOUNG ANSWER: IF I COULD ADD JUST ONE WORD - I DON'T THINK THAT (TWO WORDS OBLITERATED BY SOMEONE COUGHING) ENVIRONMENT (?)

IS THE ONLY NEW MODERN WEAPON THAT THEY ARE MAKING. THEY ARE MOVING
AHEAD MILITARILY - HERE IS A VERY INTELLIGENT PEOPLE, THE WOMEN ALL
WORK AND SACRIFICE AND THEY COULD BECOME A REAL TOUGH POWER.
SENATOR STEVENS ANSWER: YES, THAT SUBTERRANEAN SYSTEM OF BOMB SHELTE
RS

WE WERE TOLD WAS CONSTRUCTED BY PEOPLE IN THEIR SPARE TIME,
COMPLETELY WITHOUT COST TO THE STATE EXCEPT FOR THE MATERIALS.
EVERYBODY HAS DONATED THEIR TIME AND YOU SHOULD SEE IT - IT'S A
FANTASTIC NETWORK OF UNDERGROUND AIR RAID SHELTERS.

SENATOR CURTIS WE THANK YOU FOR COMING AND IF ANY OF YOU WANT TO
DIRECT ENQUIRIES AT SOME OF THE INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS, I'M SURE
THEY WILL DO THEIR BEST TO COOPERATE.

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